1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

346 Each temple usually had a chamber and an antechamber, and in some cases two or even three shrines rested on the same platform. This platform or substructure gave height and mass to the temple. The usual practice was to lay up rough stone, set in adobe or lime, into a truncated pyramid, the sides of which were broken up by three narrow setbacks and by a steep ramp leading to the top. The surface was of veneered cut-stone slabs, and additional blocks were laid along the ramp to make the stair. Wide balustrades bordered the staircase and often ended in gigantic serpent heads. Aztec construction was the simplest type of engineering, but imposing architectural effects were gained by the consummate artistic sense and superb craftsmanship of the builders.[19] (See Plates 50–51.)

291 554 The adequate, even imposing, housing of the Aztecs and their gods by no means eclipsed their dress. Clothing, besides protecting man from the weather, has an important social function. It is a guide to the sex, age, group, occupation, rank and even character of its wearer. The simple and standardized clothing of our modern society performs the same service, and with a moment's observation one can tell much about a stranger from his clothes. The Aztecs, like many peoples of the world, strove by their dress to accentuate the social differences between people, and pomp and panoply dominated their costume. Or the barbaric splendor of high civilian dress superimposed the fantastic garb of the priests and priestesses in their impersonation of the complex and ornately represented divinities in their pantheon.[20]

[302] The *macehual*, or ordinary tribesman, left his head uncovered, his hair long, and customarily wore a *maxtli*, or loincloth, a mantle knotted over one shoulder, and sandals of

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

leather or woven maguey fiber in cold weather. Women wrapped about their loins a finely woven cloth, which they sustained with a narrow belt. A sleeveless slipover, or *huipil*, completed their costume. They plaited their hair into braids, sometimes interlacing them with ribbons, and these they wrapped around their heads. This woman's costume may still be seen in many parts of Indian Mexico. (See Plates 33–36.)

The poor made their garments of maguey fiber or coarse cotton. The rich wore the same clothing fashioned from finer textures and decorated with elaborate embroidery. The many names given to the different kinds of mantles show their interest and importance to the wearers. Wool was almost never made into cloth, since dog hair was all they had, but feather cloaks were highly esteemed. Chiefs wore a fillet of leather from which hung two tassels, and administrative chiefs had a sort of diadem of gold or jade and turquoise as a badge of office.

The warriors frankly gloried in their costumes. Rich mantles and ornate feather headdresses were not enough for some, who carried on their shoulders a harness of wicker supporting an elaborate structure in feather mosaic. Others wore costumes modeled on the appearance of an ocelot or an eagle. On specified occasions the priests assumed the dress of the gods and goddesses, whose costumes were sumptuous and ornate and defined by exacting ritualistic marks of identification. (See Plate 61.)

Jewelry consisted of ornaments of copper, gold and silver, shell, various-colored stones, like jade, turquoise, emeralds, opals or moonstone, and mosaics laid on a backing of clay, wood or reed. Large plugs were inserted in the ear lobes of

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

themselves the owners of extensive estates by which their descendants could profit. The Spaniards married into chiefly families, which they believed hereditary, according to their own cultural pattern. In some cases chiefs, like those of Tlaxcala, received coats of arms and patents of nobility from the king for their service in the Spanish cause. Out of 190 coats of arms presented for services during the Conquest of Middle and South America, at least twenty were granted to Indians. In consequence there took place a modest renascence of Indian culture. Indian authors like Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin set forth, in Spanish or Nahuatl, the annals of their forebears as proof of their descent from great Indian nobles and of their right to Spanish honors as well.[4] (See Plate 44.)

The old culture died slowly. In the Indian towns the records were kept in both Spanish and the old Aztec pictographic system to avoid dispute. Dress maintained its old form, except that the friars insisted on trousering the Indians. The rich agriculture was a great boon to the conquerors, who modified it little except for the addition of fruit trees and wheat. Household utensils, like pottery, revealed an engaging fusion of Indian and Spanish ideas, and glazing delighted the Indians, who applied the flux to purely aboriginal forms. Some enchanting little sculptures in clay reveal the old gods and goddesses masquerading as saints in a very thin disguise.

The Indians were used to building temples, and it seemed to them perfectly fitting that they should labor long hours in great numbers to rear structures honoring the new gods. The conversion was so popular that the churches were too small to hold the worshipers, and several conventual temples, like Acolman, Actopan and Tlamanalco, had chapels which

X796
[535]

the emperor himself were decked and arrayed very richly in costly adornments, and they began a dance of great solemnity and gravity which they called *netecuiotoliztli*, which meaneth "Dance of the Lords." This was performed only every four years, during this feast. On this same day, very early in the morning, before dawn, they began to pierce the ears of the boys and girls, and they applied to their heads a wig of parrot feathers, pasted on with *ocotzotl*, which is pine resin. Etc.

[304
291
825
314]

mente con ricos adereços todos los principales y señores y personas yllustres, y el mesmo Emperador: y començauan vn areyto de gran solemnidad y grauedad: al qual llamauan Netecuiotoliztli, quiere dezir: areyto de los señores: Este solamente se hazia de quatro en quatro años en esta fiesta. Este mesmo dia muy de mañana ante que amaneciesse començauã a agujerar las orejas a los niños y niñas: y echauãlos vn casquete en la cabeça de pluma de papagayos, pegado con ocutzotl que es resina de pino. Etc,

X 796 [278] Any who wished, to whom it was pleasing, who wanted to, of the youths who had been drunk, [did so].

in çaço aquin connequja, conmonectiaia, ontlaelcujaia in mihivintia telpopochti.

[755] And some of them had so made vows that they would hide away the skins; because perchance they were covered with sores, or perhaps had an infection of the skin, or had maladies of the eyes, since for some this was successful and thus they recovered. Some did not recover.

Auh cequintin ic monectoltia, yn ecatlatizque: ipampa aço papalanja, aço çaçaoati, anoço izcoonia: tel in aca, ipanti, ic poti, in aca amo poti:

[301] 289] Each one of the captors came forth from his house, and appeared in and went wearing the [captive's] skin. They went with paper streamers[4] upon their shoulders and upon the calves of their legs.

ceceiaca inchan in tlamanjme oalpeoa, oaleoa conmaqujtiuj in ecatl, amatecujtl, ymacolpan mamãtiuh, yoan in tlanitzco.

[515] And so they went jumping, pressing on, arriving together. So [foul] did they smell [that verily] the stench wounded the head. [It was] repellent. All men held their noses when they were met, when they went among people.

Auh ynic vih, chocholotiuj, hiaxtiuj, centlalli mantiuh, ynjc yiaque, vel tetzonujtec, ainamjquiztli: çan neiacapacholo ynjc namjco, ynic tetla quiça.

And the skins, crumpled and crackling, were hardened. And some carried them in baskets—dried up, frayed, stiffened.

Auh yn ecatl, ocototzauh, ocacalachoac, oquaoac: auh in cequj ça chiqujuhtica quinapaloa, yn oueltepioac, yn oquelochauh, oquappiᶻzoac.

[431] [531] 291 And the captors came in lead of the *tototecti*. They bore their incense-ladles. They went with their gifts tied up in bundles—mantles perchance painted with designs, or in dark brown,[7] or crimson, or in two colors diagonally divided,[8] or with edges adorned with feathers—with feathers surrounding the edge.

Auh in tlamanjme, quinjacan...uj in tototecti, intletlema, intletlema ietiuh: quimoolpilitiuj yn innetlauhtil, tilmatli, aço tlacujlolli, anoço camopalli, anoço nochpalli, anoço nacazminquj, anoço teniujoaoanquj, yhujtenoaoanquj, yhujtentlaiaoalo.

And when they had arrived at the place where the skins were hidden away, on the top of the Temple of Yopitli, Yopitli's Temple, each one dedicated [incense] to the four directions; the captors offered incense, raising [toward the sky] their incense-ladles, and shaking them.

Auh yn oaxioac, yn ecatlatiloian, yn icpac teucalli iopitli, iopiteucalli: nauhcampa ceceiaca ontlaiiaoaia, in tlamanjme ontlenamacaia, conjiaoa yn jntlema, conujujxoa.

And those who stood clothed in the skins then undid them, and stood divested [of them]. And when they had taken the skins off, they cast them down, they threw them into a cave. And the captors went down to the bottom [of the temple pyramid] and quickly left and poured out the coals into the incense-burner.

Auh yn onacticac ecatl, njman mototoma, mototonticac: yn oqujoalcopin ecatl, contlaça ica onmaiauj yn oxtoc. Auh in tlamanj, oaltemo tlatzitla, qujoalcauhtiquiça, qujoaltentiquiça, tlehquazco in tecolli.

X 796 515 And they who had come to dispose of the skins, which they had gone about wearing, washed themselves not with water, but with flour—with corn meal, with which they rubbed their faces. They scrubbed their faces with flour.

Auh yn oquicaoato ecatl, yn onmaqujtiuja, amo mizamja atica, çan iotextli, tlaoltextli, inic onmixxaxaqualoca, ynic onmjxmamatiloa, mixiotexuja:

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4. See Chapter 20, n. 1.

7. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 525, Seler translates *camopalli* as *kamoxforbene or in orange-farbene Decke*. In *Einige Kapitel*, p. 79, he has "*kamoxforbenen (von der Braunen Farbe der Kaulloa der Banana abstie)*." Molina (*op. cit.*) has *color morado cenizo*.
Yur nochpalli, Seler (*loc. cit.*) writes "*karmoxforbenen (von der Farbe des Nachtell, der Kakao-Schillaus)*."

8. Cf. Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, *loc. cit.*, and illus., p. 531.

They departed hence to go to the temple to bathe. There who bathed they did not rub, but struck and slapped, [with a noise] like the breaking of ocean waves. Thus came to an end and disappeared the grease. And also this was the time for the washing of heads. The captors washed their heads and washed off the sweat with a soap [called *amolli*].[9]

For while all had fasted for their captives, they had never bathed; they had remained in filth until twenty days had passed. Likewise those of their household had never bathed. Then all bathed and washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said: "The hair was washed," -or, "The filth was washed away." [For] so were they covered with filth.

And thereafter the owner of the captive set up in the courtyard [of his house] a woven twig ball on three small feet.[10] Upon it he placed the paper adornment with which had been adorned the Totec [when he died].[11]

And from here he brought out one pleasing to look upon, acceptable, and strong. He likewise was adorned [with the paper vestments of Xipe]. In them he took after people; he dispersed them; the man vested them. He ran; he went using his shield as slasher and rattling his rattle-board. They went after him in disorder; they showered him with stones, and pelted him and attacked him with stones.

Everyone feared him, and let him pass. They said: "Now cometh he who hath washed his head."[12]

And if he seized someone, if he snatched at anyone, he despoiled him of and ran off with his cloak; and however many cloaks he took, he carried them to the house of the captor and cast them on the ground in the middle of the courtyard.

Thereupon the captor planted his "pole of the flaying of men" in the courtyard; it betokened that this man [the captor] had flayed a captive.

Moreover, at this same time he put up[on the point of the pole], so that it hung,—having removed the [remaining] flesh,—the thigh bone[13] of the captive, and suspended with it the sleeveless knotted cord jacket and a small spray of heron feathers.

And he wrapped the thigh bone with paper, and provided it a mask. And this was called the god-captive.[14]

vncã otoco, in teupan, ynic maltitiuh, ynin nealtiaia, amo quinmamatiloaia, çan quintzotzona, quindatlatzinja, iuhquin tlatlatzcatimanj, ic poujia, ic vel quiça in chiaoalistli. Auh no yquac, netzonpaco in tlamanj, motzopaca, mamouja: 796[K] 515 [388]

ipampa inic oquinneçaujlique, yn inmaloa, aic omaltique, omotzoiocique, inic oquiz cempoalillhujtl: cenvetzi yn inchantlaca, yn aic omaltique, quinmuchiquacmaltia, mamoujia: ic mjtoa netzõpaco, anoço netzopaco, ynjc omotzoiotique:

auh çatepan itoalco, quiquetza in male, quitlalia quauhtzontapaiolli, ey icxi, tzicujlicxe, ytech quitlatlalia: yn jamatlatquj, ynjc omochichioaia totec. 796[K] [778]

Auh vncan conana ce tlacatl talqualittalli, tlaelittalli chicaoac: ie no ceppa ie ic muchichioaia, ipan tetoioca, tecocenmana, tlacatl quiocomonja, motlaloa mochimalcaltitiuh, quicacalatztiuh ychicaoaz quicaoatztiuj, quitetoca, q'tepachotiuj, quitecicali:

muchi tlacatl quimauhtia, ipan macauj: quitoa, le uitz tetzompacquj:

auh intla aca cana, intla aca quicujxiuetzi, quipepetlaoa, quitlatlalochtia yn jeilma: in quezçuj quitecujlia tilmatli, ychan concaoa in tlamanj, itoalnepantla tlalli ic quiujuiequj in tilmatli.

Çatepan itoalco quiquetza, itlacaxipeoalizquauh, in tlamanj: ic quinextia, yno ce tlacatl quixipeuh malli. 796[K] 778

Auh yoan yn jquac y, tlaacopiloaia: auh ynaca oc cocholoktinia, yn iquextepol malli: yoan mecaxicolli, aztapetlacxoxtli itech pilcac. [291 237]

Auh in quextepolli, amatica quiquiquiquiloaia, quixoiacuxinia: auh ynjn motocaiotiaia, malteuil. [289]

9. Molina: *op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl section (*atolmo*).
11. *Ibid.*: "*yoalo tolloc los grandes con que se solia adornado, el capitan quando muria.*"
12. Cf. Sahagún: *Historia de las cosas*, p. 93, n. 1: *ixtenpanpiqui*—"*Cuando dize que alguno (quoqui) le quitaron, le tomaron* (*temoli, en composicion temo, qui*) *significa sobreponerse unos sobre otros o tomar lucha [pinolli].*" This would imply a double connotation.
13. Sahagún's Spanish text requires that the thigh bone was then suspended. Siméon, in *Rimario Náhuatl*, p. 81, has "*empty.*"
14. *Ixtlamaxaualiztli*, in Siméon, *loc. cit.*

And if anyone should stumble, if anyone went not there, if he loitered, for this he was detained.

And if there were any who tarried, if they made not haste, if any ceased walking, [if they] did not lay down their reeds with the others, for this they seized [such an one]; for this all [such] were then made captive.

And this was done for four days.

And in these four days, whosoever had been seized might well be freed, might well ransom himself; he might yet escape [in return for] perhaps a turkey, perchance a breech clout, mayhap a cape, or a *maguey* fiber cape, or a small cotton *manta*.

And the poor, these ransomed themselves with a wooden plate with balls of dough.[39]

And all which was paid, all this, the captor, he who detained them, the accuser, took.

And upon the fifth day, on the day of the feast, one might no longer ransom himself; even though it were something very great [as a gift] that [one offered] to excuse oneself, no longer might he try.

And when the feast day [came], then all the common folk made cooked maize and beans for themselves—*etzalli* was made; everyone did so; [for] none did not prepare maize and beans for himself.

And when they were cooked, then they were eaten; they presented it to one another. Some thus feasted others.

And some who took their pleasure and some of the warriors danced; and they did thus only to divert themselves.

Thus were they adorned—they had circles about their eyes and carried their sheaves of dried maize. They kept going from house to house, singing and dancing the *etzalli* song. They went about bearing a handled jar, the *etzalli* jar, in their hands.

And thus they danced, sang, and chanted: "I do it; I do it. [Give me] a little of thy *etzalli*. If thou givest me none, I shall break a hole into thy house."

And the householders then offered them a measure of *etzalli*, and went to place it in the *etzalli* jar.

In fives, in sixes, in sevens gathered those who danced.

This *etzalli* dance began at midnight, and only at daybreak all dispersed, and it became quiet.

And when the sun arose, then was adorned the fire priest. He put on his sleeveless jacket; over it he placed his [thin, transparent, netted] cape, called the

Auh intla aca motlaujtequiz: yoan intla aca amo vmpa itztiaz, intla miacuepaz, ic axiox.

Auh intla aca, amo quicxiaci, intlacamo teicxiaci: intla aca icxicaoalo, yn amo tehoan contemaz acatl, ic caci, ic nemaltilo.

Auh ynjn naujlhujtl in muchioaia:

auh in naujlhujtl y, yn aquiqui axioa, oc vel momaquixtia, oc vel moquixtia, oc vel maquiça: aço tzolin yca, aço mazatlatl ica, aço tilmatli, aço ichtilmatli, aço tequachtli ica.

Auh yn icnotlacatl ichoatl in uentelolotli, ic moquixtiaia, cen quauhxicalli:

auh yn ixquich nequixtilonj, moch quimocuilia in tlamanj, in teaci, in teacinj.

Auh in ic ic macujlilhuitl, in ie yquac ilhujtl, aocac vel moquixtiaia, inmanel itla cenca vey ic moquixtiaia, aocmo quiceliaia.

Auh in ic iquac ilhujtl, yn ixquich tlacatl macecalli, quimochiuhliaia etzalli, metzalhuiaia, vel centetzi, niac yn macamo metzalhuiaia:

auh yn iquac oicucic, njman quaqualo, netech quimomamaca, nepanoti ic mococoachioa.

Auh in cequintin papaquinj, yn ahaujeni: yoan in cequintin tiacaoan, mamaceoa çan ic mellelquixtia:

inic muchichiua mixteiaiaoaltia, incintopil, cacalactinemj in techachan, etzalmaceoa: intlan cuantinemj xocujcolli etzalcomjd.

Auh ynic mamaceoaia quenia. Yn naie yn naie tla achi in metzal, intlacamo xinechmaca, njmjzcalaxapoolaz.

Auh in chaneque, njman quioalmaca, cen tlaololli etzalli, contlaliciuj yn etzalcomjc:

cequj macujlli, cequj chiquacen, cequj chiconie, mauicinemj in mamaceoa.

Jnjn etzalmaceoalizlli, ioalnepantla in peoaia, çan ic tlatlalchipaoa, in necuicoalo, cactiuetzi,

auh yn ooalquiz tonatiuh, njman ie ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn ixicol, pani conmololoa ixtel, inoca nixuhquemjd, anoço noxhquemjd,

[796 X]

[291]

[242]

[535]

[793 292]

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39. "Boiler de masa" in Sahagún's Spanish text.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

F796
532
●291

[415]

[415]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

30. Ochpaniztli (Chapter 30)
31-32. Panquetzaliztli (Chapter 34)
33. Tititl (Chpter 36)
34. Izcalli (Chapter 37)
35-36. Izcaçuhqui (Chapter 38)

[p. 102 H]

796 A
532
291
292

[315]

—After Paso y Troncoso

37-44. Izcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)

[p. 102 I]

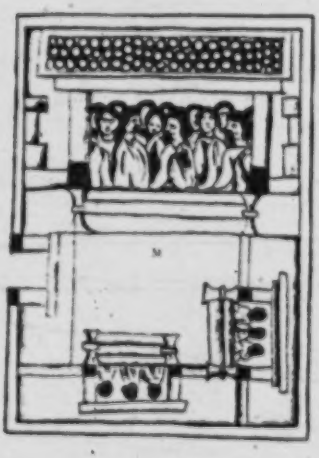
3: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

F 796
532
291

[415]

[854]

[411]



45-49. Ixcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)
50. Mecuilcalli (Appendix)
51. Calpulli (Appendix)

[p. 102 J]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

532

[291 302]

[643 714]

[283 286]

[701 714 793 411]

[723]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

72-74. Women's array—*cuipilli*, *cueitl* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

[p. 36(H) is blank]

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair: and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc.

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl.

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj:

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonquixtiaia in aqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, texcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja:

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamancã: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlae in oc iohoan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açotlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla açotl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, açotl qujnmecanja, anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj.

9. Tlacochcalcatl, thereunto: see Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 27; Jones, op. cit., p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 102, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. Nino nemacuiltonoli, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has amoço tetlaviuhtoli—or adultery.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

291
531

Fifteenth Chapter, in which is described the adornment of the women.

The orange colored shift gathered at the waist; the shift [decorated with] yellow parrot feathers; the shift with the stamp device at the neck; the shift with flowers overspread; the shift of smoky color; [shifts] with large embroidered [figures] at the throat, with [designs] of cut reeds; the shift with feathers; the tawny colored shift; the shift of coyote fur; the duck feather shift; [the shift] with dyed rabbit fur; the shift with the gourd and thistle [design]; the shift overspread with dahlias;[1] [the shift] with the eagle head in a setting, done in feathers; the shift with a border of flowers;

Ic cuxtolli capitulo: vncan mjtoa in jnnechichioa in çioa.

Vitztecolcuitlalpic vipilli, xonoloio uipilli, quechnenecuilhoazio vipilli, xachimoiaoac uipilli, pocuipilli, veuej tlamachtli itonquj, toltzaianquj, potoncaio vipilli, quappachio vipilli, coicoichcaio vipilli, xomouivipilli, tlapaltochomjtica xicalnetzo[illegible] vipilli, acoxochimoiaoac vipilli, izquixuhcallo potoncaio xochiteio vipilli.

The skirt with an irregular [design], having a wide border; the skirt with serpent skins, having a wide border; the skirt with the step meander, having a wide border, the skirt with squared corner stones, having a wide border; the skirt with thin, black lines, having a wide border; the white skirt [like a] bed covering, having a wide border; the ocelot skin skirt, having a wide border; the skirt with brown pendants, having a border; the skirt with coyote fur pendants, having a border;

Chicocuejtl, patlaoac in jten: coatlaxipeoallo cueitl, patlaoac in jten, xicalcoliuhquj cueitl, patlaoac in jten, tetenacazio cuejtl, patlaoac in jten, tilpipitzaoac cueitl, patlaoac in jten: cacamoluhquj iztac cueitl, patlaoac in jten, oçelocuejtl, patlaoac in jtē; quappachpipilcac cuejtl, tene: cuauhchapipilcac cuejtl tene.

301 Amber ear plugs; white crystal ear plugs; golden ear plugs; silver ear plugs; white obsidian ear plugs.

Apoçonalnacochtli, teujlonacochtli iztac, coztic tencujtlanacochtlj: iztac tencujtlanacochtli, itznacochtli iztac.

302 386 [314] Their faces were painted with dry, colored [powders]; faces were colored with yellow ochre, or with bitumen. Feet were anointed with an unguent of burned copal incense and dye. They had hair hanging to the waist, or to the shoulders; or the young girls' lock of hair; or the hair [twisted with black cord and] wound about the head; or the hair all cut the same length. [Some] cut their hair short, [so that] their hair reached to their noses.[2] It was cut and dyed with black mud—[so] did they place impo-

Moxaoaia, tlapalhoatzaltica: moxaoaia, tecuçauhtica: mochapopoxaoaia: copalaxtica mocxioxiuja, tzonquexe, quatequeque, atzotzocoleque, maxtlaoa, motzonquetzaltica, quijquatequj in jntzon, quijaiacanepanoa in jntzon: tlatetecoa, mopatinemj, quimamaujxnati in jntzontecon: moxiuhquilpa, injc pepetlaca intzon: motlantlapalhujia, motlānochezuja, momaxcujloa, moquechicujloa, moquechtetema, molchiqujuhicujloa, mochichioaticujloa.

1. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 24, *ezoxochitl* is identified as *Dahlia excelsa*, Cav. Sammarco (*op. cit.*, I, p. 35), however, says of *ezoxochitl*: "De Hójas, cortadas de cabidas rondas, inclinese del pals, exemeide semblele por dlante. (Lagunería vulgaro, var.)." Manuel Urbina, in "Plantas conocidas de los antiguos mexicanos," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, segunda época, Tomo I, pp. 515-529, 519, mentions two kinds of *cempoalxōchitl* (*cempoali, quiltl*), of one of which Hernández is quoted to the effect that it has "*flores estrelladas purpureas*" Dr. Oliver le cited (Nouv. de Rennepbigle, II, p. 276), giving *Pentanthus atropurpureus* D. C. for *acuxochitl*; Urbina thinks it is *Arracacia atropurpurea* Benth et Hook.

2. After *in jntzon*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *mā quauhquexpiloa*—they left a tuft of hair over the forehead.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Nineteenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it.

The ruler took care of the directing of the market place and all things sold, for the good of the common folk, the vassals, and all dwellers in the city, the poor, the unfortunate, so that [these] might not be abused, nor suffer harm, nor be deceived nor disdained. Thus were things bought, or sold: they arranged them in order so that each thing sold would be placed separately—in its own place or station. They were not spread about in confusion.

Market place directors were appointed to office. They cared for, and attended to, the market place and all and each of the things sold—the merchandise which was there. Each of the directors took care, and was charged, that no one might deceive another, and how [articles] might be priced and sold.

[306] Separate were those who sold gold and silver, and green stone, and turquoise, and emeralds, and quetzal feathers, and [those of] the blue cotinga, and the red spoonbill, and all the various precious feathers of birds, which were needed for devices and shields.

● [291 270] Separate were those who sold chocolate, aromatic herbs,[1] and vanilla. Apart were those who sold great capes, costly capes, embroidered capes, costly breech clouts, embroidered skirts and shifts, large common capes, maguey fiber capes, and thin maguey fiber capes.

[262] And all food necessary to them also was sold separately: dried grains of maize, white, black, red, and yellow; yellow beans, white ones, black, red; pinto beans; large beans; gray amaranth seed, red amaranth seed, and fish amaranth; white chía,[2] black chía, and the wrinkled variety;[3] salt; fowl; turkey cocks and hens; quail; rabbits, hares, and deer; ducks

Ic caxtolli onnauj capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in tlatecpanaliztli in tianqujzco: auh in iehoatl tlatoanj, cenca qujmocujtlaujaia.

In tlatoanj qujmocujtlaujaia ipan tlatoaia in tianqujztli, ioã ixqujch tlanamactli, impampa cujtlapilli, aclapalli, maçecalli, ioan ixqujch aoa, tepeoa in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja, injc amo quequeloloz, injc amo xixicoloz, injc amo ica necacaiaoaloz, injc amo nexictiloz, injc motlacouja, in anoço itla qujmonamaqujlia qujtecpanaia, injc nononqua monamacaz, icecentlamantli tlanamactli, çan iieeian, çan iooneian, amo ixneliuhtoca,

qujmjxquetzaia, in tianqujzpan tlaiacanque, in qujmocujtlaujaia, in jpan tlatoaia in tianqujztli: ioan ixqujch tlanamactli, icecẽtlamantli tlanamactli, tiamjctli, ipan manca, qujmocujtlaujaia cecentlamantin tlaiacanque, in innecujtlaujl catca, injc aiac texitiloz, ioan quenjn tlapatiloz, quenjn tlanamacoz.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca in coztic, ioan iztac teucujtlatl, ioan chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl ioã quetzalitztli, ioan quetzalli, ioã xiuhtototl, ioan tlauhquechol, ioan ixqujch nepapan totoiujtl, tlaçotli in jtech monequja tlaujztli chimalli.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca cacaoatl, vej nacaztli, tlilxochitl. Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca veuej tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli, tlamachio tilmatli, tlaçomaxtlatl, tlamachcuejtl, tlamachvipilli, quachtli, ichtilmatli, iiatl,

ioan in ixqujch qualonj, in tetech monequj, no nonqua monamaca, tlaolli iztac, iauhtlaolli xiuhtoctlaolli, coztic tlaolli, coztic etl, iztac etl, tlilletl, chichiltic etl, çolcujcujltic etl, aiecotli. Nexoauhtli, chichiltic oauhtli, mjchioauhtli. Iztac chia, tliltic chiã, chiantzotzol, iztatl: totoli, vexolotl, çiaoatotoli, çoli, tochi, çitli, maçatl, canauhtli, atzitzicujlotl, pipixcan,

1. *Vej nacaztli: Cymbopetalum penduliflorum* (Dunal) Baill, in Rimbach, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
2. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 23, *supra*.
3. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 21, *supra*. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 61, says it is "una semilla como henejen blanca."

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mocenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamacaque, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani, aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquican omoztlauha yn tepeticpac, yoā atlan, yoan yn ompa veca caca momoztli, yceceyoual yc tlamaceua. 346 793

Ca y iehoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlacatecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn intoxi yntlamecayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli yehoatl im piçietl tlanelolli tlilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quitquitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoā xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoā ocotl, yoā quiçiacauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, youn tecuciztli yn itlapitzal, ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço ceuetziz yuhca viya. 793 [785] [781] [276] 415 [534]

yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimā yc vncā moztlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza-yn tlamacazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in campa omoztlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitztiuitze ye tlatuinauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac. 796 783 [534]

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Gliederung der Alt-Azekischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 330, says of the form nouiz: "*Da es im Text diejenigen bezeichnet, die den Copalbeutel tragen, wird es sich um Priester handeln.*" The term ihuanyotic he translates (*ibid.*, p. 161), "*schlimat sie von einer Schnur.*"

7: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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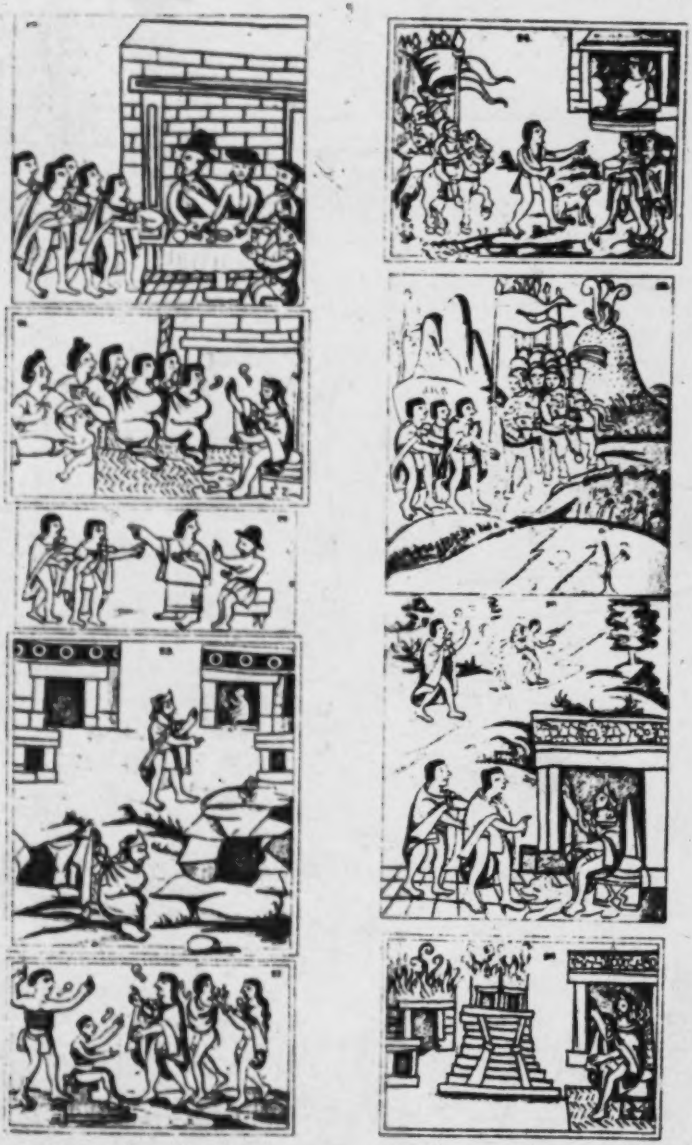
●291
[431]



—*After Paso y Troncoso*

20. Moctezuma's messengers offer food to the Spaniards (Chapter 8). 21. Moctezuma and the Mexicans weep on hearing of the power of the Spaniards (Chapter 9). 22. Marina interprets for Cortés (Chapter 9). 23. Moctezuma debates whether to flee (Chapter 9). 24. Spaniards are welcomed in Tlaxcalla (Chapter 11). 25. Moctezuma's emissaries meet the Spaniards between Istactepetl and Popocatepetl (Chapter 12). 26. Moctezuma's emissaries return to tell of the meeting with the Spaniards (Chapter 12). 27. Moctezuma's soothsayers meet the drunkard (Chapter 13). 28. Burning Mexican temples shown by the drunkard (Chapter 13).

[p. 44(E)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

[197] of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citlaltomáua," the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepec,[*] and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the [101] Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otatlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuilco, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes.[**]

TRIBUTE

651 In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino*, the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

● [291] 1,616 bundles[***] of large orange mantles
2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

[245] 80 loads of cacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

[248] 400 bundles of cotton
[136] 800 red seashells, like scallops

[*] See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendrichs, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329–362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297–328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239–254.

[**] See section on Tepequacuilco, below.

[***] The *Mendocino* résumé, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[m] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[n]

Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose
[712] glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17ᵛ) accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[o] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[p]

651 TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 402 bundles[q] of mantles *colchadas*[**]
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white[**]
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)[**]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[**]
400 bundles of little white mantles[**]
1,600 bundles of large mantles[**]
[714] 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)[*]

FOOD

[262] 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and
[263] *chian*[*]
200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[m] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[n] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[o] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[p] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[q] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[a] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[b] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[c] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
[248] 1,206 bundles[d] of little mantles of soft henequen**
[314] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

[263] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

[323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[**] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen[**]
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells[**]
400 bundles of little cotton mantles[**]
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)[*]

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian[*]
2,000 vessels of white salt[**]

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[**] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[**] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[**] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que senbo-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expansion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca.

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlatzinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[30] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles**
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli*

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point.

6. Malinalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 35′ of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with

[30] PNF 7: 16.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[108] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[109] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[110] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen[111] [291]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)[111] [263]

[108] Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monuments arqueológicos de Malinalco ...," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[109] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenanzingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta Jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el *Ocuilteca*, de difícil comprehencion para los estraños."

[110] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[111] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 ***Tribute of the whole province.***—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 175 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco, the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan [128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.** Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,** which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

** Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

** *PNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlaxomulco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[28]—a fact in harmony with Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen[30]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)[31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side of a lost page of the *Matricula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28ᵛ of the *Mendocino*.[32] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[28] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.
[29] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 256.
[30] See n. 111, p. 31.
[31] The lost original might be called p. 68.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[27]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[29] 400 bundles of rich mantles**
714 400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself
632 seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[28]
317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. Quauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauh-
114 titlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north
[128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

[27] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Imperio de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, ... 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[28] *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [*ca.* 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 7	[Missing]
Michmaloyan, 5	Michimaloyan
Tecoçauhtla, 11	Tecozautla
Tepetitlan, 6	Tepetitlán
Tzayanalquilpan, 3	Soyaniquilpan
Xilotepec, 2	Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[a] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the very Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the west and north of the province of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[b] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[c] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino,* the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[d] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[d] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[e]

[a] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[b] Cf. n. 35 above.
[c] *PNE,* 6: 201.
[d] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[e] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Ostitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metztitlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[a] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses."[b] The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD**

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 large jars of thick maguey honey

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below.

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[c]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[a] Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, 1: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Texcatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teodalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

[b] *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

[c] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; hazianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[m] as did Tequixquiac[n] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[o]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 little decorated mantles[p]
400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border[p]
800 white henequen mantles[p]
62 warriors' costumes, with shields[q]

FOOD[r]

[262 263] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[s]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[t]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[u]

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[m] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[n] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[o] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[p] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[q] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[r] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matricula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton:

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton.

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.[6]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack.

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period:

CLOTHING[7,8]

2,010 bundles[7] of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles[8] of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD[8]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE[8]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan.

CLOTHING

9 "savanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

[6] *ENE*, 10: 136. [7] Corrected from 2,000. [8] Corrected from 800.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxtec was
648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
197 recent times, at least) in the south.[86] The Huaxtec people, generally
105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[87] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> . . . they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored . . . they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists . . .

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. . . ."[88]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
131 pendent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more
103 properly known as "Cuextlan."[89] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[90] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[91]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula,* Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

● 291 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

[86] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribución prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[87] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[88] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Meade (*La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[89] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[91] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers*

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton*

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?]
400 deerskins
100 live deer
100 large (live) parrots
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.**

* Corrected from 800.

** Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tizcohuacalaotl" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas betadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatziubque [Ilacatziubque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenia de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de paletes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of Tlatlauhquitepec.[a]

Tenexticpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuateopa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[b] As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[c]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzicoac"[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, especially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matricula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles[**]
400 bundles of red and white mantles[**]
400 bundles of loincloths[**]
808 bundles[*] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long[**]

[291]

[a] RHE, 1: 487.
[b] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín ...* (1943).
[c] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.
[*] Corrected from 800.

1 [p. 58.— Analyst] 2 [p. 56.— Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

816 bundles[a] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long**
408 bundles[b] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long**
402 bundles[b] of mantles striped red and yellow**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS*

20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven provinces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[c] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure than that given by the *Mendocino*.[d] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[e]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[f]

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[a] Corrected from 800.
[b] Corrected from 400.
[c] Corrected from 400.
[d] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.
[e] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.
[f] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huehutli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatziuhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos le mantas de ilacatziuhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatziuhqui y pañetes sin más las amas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenian todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."
[g] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Los totonacas* (1933), pp. 110–111.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING**

[291] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS*

[248] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. TLAPACOYAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acaçacatla, 7	Zacatlan
Tlapacoyan, 4	[No change]
Xiloxochitlan, 6	Eloxochitlan
Xochiquauhtitlan, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan. To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

* Corrected from 400.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.[80]

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.[81]

19. Atotonilco el Grande

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30ᵛ of the *Codex Mendocino*. There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30ᵛ may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino*, as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [28] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 3	Acaxochitlán
Atotonilco, 1	Atotonilco el Grande
Hueyapan, 5	[No change]
Quachqueçaloyā, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tulançinco, 4	Tulancingo
Çtzihuinquiloca	[See Remarks on Towns]

[80] RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer alguna presente á mocteçuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."
[81] RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributauan á monteçuma mantas de algodon."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco"[a] and seventeen leagues from México.[b] As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears eight leagues from Hueyacocotla.[c] It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century.[d]

Çtzihuinquiloca may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca.[e]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiquity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún comments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco.[f] These ruins have only recently been surveyed.[g] Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque,[h] and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huaxteca was launched.

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande lay between two *tierras de guerra.* To the north was Metztitlan, and probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtla.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atotonilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich mantles[i]
1,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen[i]
4 warriors' costumes with shields[i]

[a] *PNE*, 3: 91.
[b] *PNE*, 1: No. 133.
[c] *GPM*, p. 250.
[d] *PNE*, 1: No. 21.
[e] RHE, 1: 140: "Entre levante y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos pequeños como tzihuiquiluca [*sic*] y tetlyztaca y el pueblo de tepepulco está cinco leguas camino llano."
[f] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.
[g] By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.
[h] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 199.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Acolhuacan Province is said to have given the following tribute:

CLOTHING [291]

2,000 bundles of large white "twisted" mantles**
1,200 bundles of rich thin mantles, in three styles**
400 bundles of loincloths** [714]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
121 warriors' costumes with shields ("one fine piece")**

FOOD [263]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

Tribute of the component towns.—Acolman (a) rendered tribute 632
of henequen garments, in bundles of twenty, every quarter, and 651
maguey leaves for fuel, but, to judge from a statement in the *Papeles de Nueva España* (6:213), this seems to have been destined for the local cacique.

Cenpoalan at first gave obsidian knives for war clubs to Texcoco. [412]
After passing into Mexican hands it gave a canoe annually, and then, in the time of Moctezuma's predecessor, fowl and other things.[a]

Epaçoyucan and adjacent towns paid only obsidian knives until [412]
Ahuizotl enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli and increased tribute demands generally. Thereafter they paid mantles and maize and domestic fowl.[a]

** Corrected from the *Mendocino* version: 103 pieces, 3 fine.

[a] RHE, 1:131: "estos quatro pueblos y sus sujetos eran en tiempo de su gentilidad del señor de tetzcuco netzavvalcoyotzin andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pasaron los pueblos de senpuala y tlaquilpa y tecpilpa al señor de mexico solamente tzaquala se quedo en el senorio que sobre ellos tenia y reconocian siempre el Reyno de tetzcuco Reyno de aculhuaca tributaban nabajas con que hazian macanas y despues andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin mucho tiempo no tributaron nada sino solamente cada año llebaban vna canoa a mexico hasta que en tiempo de ahuitzotzin antesesor de montecuma fue el primero que mando tributasen mantas gallinas y todo genero de bolateria [this for a new temple] como sucedio Montecuma en su lugar no quiso personarlos tributos."

[a] RHE, 1:142: "eran del señorio de tezcuco ... no tributauan nada solamente nabajas con que hazian macanas y siendo senor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pidiole al señor de tezcuco que no tenia muchas tierras que le diese algunos pueblos de la comarca de mexico entonzes se dividió este pueblo porque gozase tambien el señor de mexico las nabajas la mitad llevó el de tetzcuco y otra mitad el de mexico y entró tambien otros pueblos debaxo del señorio de mexico como cenpohuala tlaquilpa pachuca teçontepec y temazcalapa todos estos pueblos pasaron a mexico y estos pueblos ayudauan a sacar nabajas y no tenian otro tributo hasta que vino a señorear el antecesor de moteçoma que

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of huauhtli

22. QUAUHNAHUAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matricula* shows us a series of towns headed by Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed to Cuernavaca.[1] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23r, with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23v. The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlycpac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Coadlabaca [!] e comundmente corronpemos agora aquel bocable y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a general opinion.[32] Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province.[33]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Quauhnahuac was surrounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoçauhtitlan. Tepequacuilco, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north.

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province[34] and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

Regional names.—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at least.[35]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following goods were exacted from the Cuernavaca region:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
8 warriors' costumes with shields*[36]

[32] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca destos seis tribus ... ."

[33] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 12: "llegaron los Tlaluiccas [*sic*] ... los quales como allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora poseen, tomando por prencipal asiento y cabeça de su provincia, á Cuauhnauac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oaxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquiltenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

[34] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its storerooms figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

[35] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuica."

[36] Among these was the "Huaxtec" (Cuextecatl) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the statuary and divinities of that region. In the *Matricula* it is clearly marked "cetecpantli cuextecatl toztli," "one yellow Huaxtec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kein Bild kenne, das durch eine Beischrift als cuextecatl Devise gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* [1902–1923], II: 603–610).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[*] while memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[*]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[*] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[*]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the *Mendocino* we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)*

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors
8,000 reams of native paper

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and prisoners alone being mentioned.

[*] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[*] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Taxcala, Chelula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[*] "Estan las dichas tres cabezeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[*] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"[b]

[a] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitziltecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis bateas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

[b] Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecozahuitl con que untan y tiñen jicaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal–Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapanec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[a]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 57: "Piaztla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Misteca sujetos a la dotrina de la cabacera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corruta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles[••]
2 warriors' costumes and shields[•]

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar[••31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[1] and liquidambar.[32]

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[33]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. QUAUHTOCHCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[34] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Totoltan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[30] Corrected from 1,600.
[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[32] Cf. n. 6 above.
[33] RHE, 1: 46a: "eran basallos de monteçuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

[1] [Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl.—Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [712] *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

[175] *Tuchçonco*, though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town, seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[33]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[34]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[35] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[36]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino*, among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauhtochco itself into the Empire.[37] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[38] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlaxcala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[271] 400 large mantles[39]

[33] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170ᵛ, speaks of "tuçongo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san juᵒ cuesçomatepeque de la jurisdizion de guatusco." Dominguez (*Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[34] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[35] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ysteyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305ᵛ, "ystoyuca."

[36] Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[37] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

[38] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[28] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[29]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan 197 chronicler, was conquered by that power,[30] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[31] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco 131 and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
[317] 1 string of chalchiuites*
[237] 400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
[301] 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262] 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[32]

[28] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[29] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[30] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[31] RHE, 1: 131.
[32] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
1 gold shield**
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads**
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao

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la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec [*sic*] que asimismo la ganó y sujuzgó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyecttzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y viente de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y vicate piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban dé tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de amas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.
** Also from Ucila.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

OTHER GOODS

16,000 rubber balls
100 pots of liquidambar
24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhuacan when it was first subjugated:[35]

CLOTHING

40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

2,000 rubber balls
400 measures of cochineal

Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[36]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

Tribute of the component towns.—Even more detailed information may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[37]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

[35] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[36] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quecholtan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Otlatitlan, and Tuchtepec.

[37] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... rreconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaban oro e cacao."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the
131 Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 533] 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[a]
10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[b]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies
651 and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[c]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[d]

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[a] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[b] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[c] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daua ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á montecuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia montecuma jente de guarniçion aperçebida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á montecuma."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexicano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province."

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses**
402 bundles* of little red-striped mantles**
800 bundles of large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer and tiger skins; fish and cotton.* In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.*

* Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

* Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

* *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteuçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçiso de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

* *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quarenta pesos de oro en polvo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[33] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[34]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec.

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume and shield*

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust
5 sacks of cochineal
400 bunches of quetzal feathers

35. Coayxtlahuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 43' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven principal towns,[35] all of which have been found. They lay in northern Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacā," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[33] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de México."

[34] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[35] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coatzacoalcos."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 175 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 805 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,* and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Moctezuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states** to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
714 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototeper de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [291]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac' [358]

38. PETLACALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1:100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Tezcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

' San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlalmanalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself belonged to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were collected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

FOOD*

1 bin of beans
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

[p. 134 is blank]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7
Zapotec NU44

A 648 through our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar, that he thanked them both for the food they had brought and for the good will which they showed us.

We slept there that night after posting watchmen and spies and scouts, and at dawn we began to march towards the city. As we were going along and were already close to the town, the Caciques and priests and many other Indians came out to receive us. Most of them were clothed in cotton garments made like tunics, such as the A Z [29] 171] Zapotec Indians wear, I say this for those persons who have been in that province and have seen them, for that is what they wear in that city. They came in a most peaceable manner and willingly, and the priests carried braziers A [314] containing incense with which they fumigated our Captain and us soldiers who were standing near him. When these priests and chiefs saw the Tlaxcalan Indians who came with us, they asked Doña Marina to tell the General that it was not right that their enemies with arms in their hands should enter their city in that manner. When our Captain understood this, he ordered the soldiers and the baggage to halt, and, when he saw us all together and that no one was moving, he said—"It seems to me, Sirs, that before we enter Cholula these Caciques and priests should be put to the proof with a friendly speech, so that we can see what their wishes may be; for they come complaining of our friends the Tlaxcalans and they have much cause for what they say, and I want to make them understand in fair words the reason why we come to their city, and as you gentlemen already know, the Tlaxcalans have told us that the Cholulans are a turbulent people, and, as it would be a good thing that by fair means they should render their obedience to His Majesty, this appears to me to be the proper thing to do."

Then he told Doña Marina to call up the Caciques and priests to where he was stationed on horseback with all of

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

round, small, "target," worn by the "brave" on his left arm and made of "canes netted together and interwoven with cotton 'two-"fold,' covered on the outside with gilded boards and with feath-"ers, and so strong that a hard cross-bow shot could alone pene-"trate them . . . ."[54]

With this shield they warded off blows in close combat,[55] and even arrows and darts at full speed. Each warrior probably carried his own shield, although it is sometimes stated that the archers, while shooting, were shielded by others.[56] This, however, would necessarily imply a greater progress of the military art among the Mexicans than we may safely allow.

The remainder of the protective armour of the Mexicans is intimately connected with their *costume*.

The ordinary dress of a Mexican consisted of a sleeveless jacket ("huepil") fastened on the right shoulder, and of the breechcloth ("maxtlatl"). The head, arms, and legs from the knees downwards, were bare. A mantle, short among the common Indians, longer among the chiefs, completed the costume.[57] Sometimes they went to war without any other protection, but in most cases the warrior wore a frock of quilted cotton, about three-quarters of

[54] The "anonymous conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 373). Compare Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 423), and Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[55] See the description of a single combat between a Cempoaltecan and Tlaxcaltecan (Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. VI, p. 143, and Torquemada, Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 422).

[56] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII) and the anonymous conqueror both assert, that each warrior had a shield. But Fray G. de Mendieta is still more positive (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "Tras estos llegaban los golpes de espada y rodela, con los cuales iban "arrodelados los de arco y flecha, y allí gastaban su almacen." However, Fray Diego Durán says: (Cap. XIV, p. 121) "y llegados á un lugar que llaman Tecuitlatenco, hicie-"ron alto y esperaron la armada de Mexico que venian por la laguna, que eran mill "canoas, muy bien Adereçadas de geute y paueses con gran numero de flagas y varas "arrojadiças, flechas y rodelas y de hombres para defensa de los flecheros, los quales "estauan tan diestros en desviar flechas con las rodelas, que era espanto, porque en "viendola venir, luego la dauan con la rodela que la echauan á través." This seems to indicate that there were special men detailed to protect the archers, and therefore a division into different arms, although there is no other evidence of such a fact. It may have been the case here, since the fight (against Cuitlahuac) was to take place on water chiefly, but nowhere else do we meet a division into kinds of arms, like archers, spearmen, swordsmen, etc., etc. All Mexican warriors were armed as nearly alike as possible. The Anonymous Conqueror, after mentioning the different weapons, says: "y "molti, ò la maggior parti di esse portano tutte queste sorti di armi con che combat-tono." ("Relatione, etc.," in Vol. I. of Col. de Doc., p. 374.)

[57] Gomara (Conquista de Méjico. Vedia, Tom. I. p. 440. "Calzan unos zapatos como "alpargates, pannicos por bragas. Visten una manta quadrada, afiudada al hombro "derecho como gitanas"). The Anonymous Conqueror (p. 376. "La maniera del ves-"tire de gli huomini"). Tezozomoc (Crónica, Cap. XXXVI, p. 56. "the macehuals "of lower grade, wore short mantles, plain, of cotton or nequen"). The "maxlatl" is described by the Anonymous Conqueror as follows: "a towel, like unto a sheet

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

714 an inch thick, up to one and one-half inches, and therefore strong enough to resist an arrow-shot, or even the dart at long range. This was the cotton-armour subsequently adopted by the Spaniards under the name of "Escaupil" ("Ichcahuipilli").[58] Sometimes even the limbs were encased in such quilted armour,[59] and the outside of the "ichcahuipil" was adorned with feathers and plates of gold or silver. The *feet* were protected by leather soles or moccasin-like shoes ("cactli," "cotaras"), but the use of them was not general.[60] Warriors of merit especially, inserted their *heads*

[291] "worn over the head while travelling, of various colors, and variously adorned, with "the ends hanging downwards, one in front and the other behind." It was common to the aborigines of Mexico and Central America, and is represented on the sculptures of Palenqué, of Copan, and of Chichen-Itza. The tables of Durán give, perhaps, the most reliable picture of these costumes.

[58] "Ichcahuipilli" derives from "Ichcatl," cotton, and "huepil," jacket. Alvarado, in his second letter to Cortés, dated 28 July, 1524 (Vedia. Vol. 1), mentions an ichcahuipil used by Indians of Guatemala, which was three inches thick and reached as far down as the ankle: "porque venian tan armados, que el que caia en el suelo no se po- "dia levantar; y con sus armas coseletes de tres dedos de algodon, y hasta en los "pies. . . . ." (p. 402.)

[59] There are several representations of such protection of the thighs, and also of the arms, especially in the splendid work of Lord Kingsborough, taken from the Mendoza codex. The entire costume, from the neck to the knee, seems to be of one piece. We have no accurate *description*, however, of them. It is doubtful whether they terminated into upper "leggings," or whether into a frock-like continuation, reaching from the girdle to the knee. Perhaps both; at least there are traces of both. (Anonymous Conqueror, p. 374. Clavigero, Lib. VII, cap. XXIII.) The absence of the "Ichcahuipil" was not, however, always a sign of low rank. Some warriors of particular merit even went to war almost naked (See Humboldt, "Vues de Cordilléres," Tab. XIV, fig. 4), and Herrera (Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 287, speaking of the natives of Tepeaca, who were subject to Mexico: "and the most valiant ones went only in breech-cloth, painting their naked body black and red"). There was, consequently, no absolute uniformity and uniform distinction in dress and armament, and this was still increased by the variety of customs among the numerous tribes which assisted the Mexicans in war, each tribe having its own manner of dress, and keeping separate on the battlefield. A Mexican army must have been a rather strange, motley crowd. Still there was, in all probability, less variety than among the Peruvian warlike bodies. Of the latter's variegated array the report of Francisco de Xeres, secretary of Pizarro, gives a good illustration (Vedia, vol. II).

[60] "Cactli," corrupted into "catle," is rendered by Molina (II, p. 11) as "shoes, or sandals." Torquemada says (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 450, vol. I): "the King wore "golden shoes, which they call cacles, and are after the fashion of those of the ancient "Romans, adorned with much jewelry, the soles fastened with cords." (Idem: Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 365) "they gave to him cotaras or sandals . . . ." Gomara (Conquista, etc., p. 322), in the list of presents sent by Cortés to the Emperor, mentions: "many shoes like as of grass, made of deer-hides, some with golden thread, and the "soles of certain white and blue stones . . . ," "other shoes, six pairs, of leather "of different color, adorned with gold or silver or pearls." The question is, whether they were moccasins or sandals. The sculptures of Palenqué show an approach to either. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), in speaking of the distinctions of dress, says: "And [643] "thus it was ordained, first: that the Kings should not appear in public, except in ur- "gent cases; that the King alone might wear a crown in the city, but that in war all the "great chiefs and valiant captains might wear crowns also, and royal tokens . . . .

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

726 carriers were burthened with a surplus of arms, and even with or-
724 naments, designed to reward deeds of high valor on the battlefield itself. This "train" (if we may use the expression) was under the command of stewards, who accompanied the force for that purpose.[145] The Mexicans having no domestic animals besides small
[231] dogs and fowls, it necessarily followed that their supplies and stores taken along by carriers were limited, and that consequently their expeditions could never be of long duration, partaking more of the character of forays or "raids" than of regular campaigns. As long as they moved among friendly tribes they expected these to furnish victuals; further on they relied upon what the enemy's country might possibly afford.

726 But the Mexicans, since their position in the middle of the la-
648 gune had been secured, and after they had once gained a foothold on its shores by overpowering successively some of the tribes scattered along the mainland, not any longer ventured out alone on their marauding expeditions. They required of those whom they conquered to join them in arms at their bidding.[146] What the exact relations were, which existed between the Mexicans and the other tribes of the valley, especially those of Tezcuco and Tlaco-

Slaves were not nu-
[567] merous among the Mexicans, if there were any at all beyond the prisoners of war. The latter they could not use for such a purpose. Some of the young people often accompanied the warriors, carrying their weapons and supplies, that they might see and learn (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXI, p. 121). But the numbers of these carriers (100,000) are greatly exaggerated. Among the various objects mentioned by Tezozomoc as carried along by the Mexicans in their campaigns, there are "tents, low huts, reeds for the xacales." "Tent," in Mexican, signifies "Quachcalli," from "Quachtli," mantle, and "calli," house. Huts, "xacalli," of straw, or bowers, they certainly used, and the step is not very great, from the hut to the tent covered with what we call among northern Indians a "blanket." Durán mentions both tents and huts, "tiendas y xacales," frequently (Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 186; cap. XXII, p. 190, etc.). The cooking utensils, like pans and kettles, had to go along, of course. Mats, "petlatl," for couches, and probably, also, for the covering of huts, were equally requisite and even indispensable. Lastly, mantles of "nequen" (Sisal hemp, "Jennequin"). This was the most ordinary
[291] material composing the dress of Mexicans. The "huepil" of the ordinary Mexican was made out of "nequen." These mantles were used for protection against the sun; they were light and therefore convenient to wear and to have carried (See Tezozomoc, Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[145] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "Y los mayordomos personalmente fuéron á "esta jornada" (against Orizava).

[146] Those tribes which had been made subjects to Mexico were compelled, whenever called upon, to join the armed forces of the Mexicans. Tezozomoc seldom speaks of any foray without mentioning that the subjected tribes took part in it, on the summons of the Mexicans to that effect. See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133); Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXI, p. 49; cap. XLVII, p. 77; cap. LI, p. 83). There is hardly any direct testimony, but the fact is abundantly proven that the Mexicans could call out, and did call out, to their assistance, any tribe which they had previously conquered. See Durán (Cap. XI, p. 313); and Zurita "Rapport, etc." p. 11.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

441 thing for another" ("tlanamacani"),[75] and such was every artisan, since, in the market place of aboriginal Mexico, every artisan bartered his own manufactures for whatever he needed for sub-

436 al Padre Fray Luis de Figueroa." Santiago de Cuba, 14 Nov., 1521. Col. de Doc. Vol. I,
437 p. 361). "Hay una moneda entre ellos con que venden y compran, que se llama cacahuate, . . ." *Anonymous Conquerer* (p. 380, etc.) mentions Cacao, "e é moneta la piu comune, ma molto incomoda dopo l'oro é l'argento . . . . *Acosta* (Lib. IV, cap. 3, p. 198) "No se halla, que los Indios usassen oro, ni plata, ni metal para moneda, ni para precio de la cosas, usaunlo para ornato, como esta dicho." The statement of Torquemada is plain. While it explains the gradual ascent and development of the notion that the Mexicans had an equivalent to money, it clearly proves that only barter and exchange, and no actual buying, took place. The copper-plates which, as Mr. Bancroft justly remarks, "constituted perhaps the nearest approach to coined money," still were not intended even for such a purpose, since they were of varying size and thickness. But the story of the *copper* or *golden* "*Eagles*" given to the Mexican traders as money wherewith to buy, as faithfully reported and gravely discussed by Mr. Bancroft also, deserves some special ventilation. This story is taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 342) "y dábales 1600 toldillos, que ellos llaman quauhtli para rescatar." These toldillos they divided into two parts of 800 each. Now Sahagun's editor, Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, very confidently asserts in note a, (p. 342): "Era una moneda que consistia en unos pedazos de cobre cortados en figura de T.— Clavigero, tom. I, pág. 349." The reference to *Clavigero* is for Lib. VII, cap. XXXVI. Now "Toldillo" is derived from "toldár" that is, to shroud or cover, and means merely a *cover*, and not a piece of metal. Used also for a covered litter or portable chair. Besides, "quauhtli" indeed signifies Eagle, but it is an evident misprint and should read "quachtli," which signifies a *mantle* or *sheet*, thus perfectly agreeing both with the "toldillo" and with the "patolquachtli" of Torquemada. The "golden eagles" of Mr. Brasseur are therefore rendered utterly useless.

● 291 Anyone reading *Tezozomoc* will see at a glance what a conspicuous part these mantles "Quachtli," (*Molina*, II, p. 84) played in intercourse and barter. According to *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter, etc., Col. de Doc's conc. le Méxique, I, p. 251) they formed to a certain extent the basis of tribute. These cotton-sheets are well described by *Peter Martyr* ("*De nouo Orbe*." Dec. V., cap. X, p. 230): "Concerning the shape and fashion of their garments, it is ridiculous to behold: they call it a garmente, because they couer themselves therewith, but it hath no resemblance with any other garment, of any fashion: it is only a square couering like unto that, which your holiness cast on your shoulders, sometimes in my presence, when you are about to kimbe your heade, to preserve your garments, least haire, or any other filth should fal upon them. That couering they cast about their necke, and then knitting two of the four corners under their throate, they lette the couering hang downe, which scarce coureth the bodie as lowe as the legges. Having seen these garments I ceased to wonder, that so great a number of garments was sent to Cortes, as we mentioned before: for they are all of small moment, and many of them take uppe but little roome."

441 With the absence of money the profession of merchant as one who lives from the
439 profits of his sales, becomes limited almost to what he can gather from out-side of his
437 own community, in other words, to what he can *import*. Their main and almost exclusive business consisted in effecting intercourse between the tribes. At home, every artisan sold or rather exchanged his own wares in the public markets. See *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, pp. 32 and 33), *Bernal Diez* ("*Hist. verdad.*," etc., Vedia II, p. 89, cap. XCII), *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 348, Vedia I), "Cada oficio y cada mercaderia tiene su lugar señalado . . . .", *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 41), "El que vende piedras preciosas, ó lapidario es de esta propriedad, que sabe lábrar sutilmente las piedras preciosas y pulirlas. . . ." He mentions as manufacturers of their own goods the following: "plateros de oro" (41), "Tratantes en mantas" (Cap. XVII, 42), "que venden mantas," "que venden cotaras" (Cap. XX, pp. 48, 49 and 51), "olleros," "que